

# The Social Perspective of Mustafa Nuri Pasha From an Exponent of Ibn Khaldun in the Ottoman Empire\*

## *Osmanlı'da İbn Haldun Takipçilerinden Mustafa Nuri Paşa'nın Sosyal Perspektifi*

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**Abstract:** It is necessary to examine the Ottoman historian group in a comparative way and see how they are influenced by Ibn Khaldun on their own. In this work, we will be witness to the analysis of the events of Mansurizade Mustafa Nuri Pasha, one of the Ottoman statesmen they are influenced by Ibn Khaldun in their own. In this study, we will look at the case of Mansurizade Mustafa Nuri Pasha, one of the Ottoman statesmen and historians, in a contemporary sociological and methodical view in the line of Ibn Khaldun while examining historical events.

**Keywords:** Ibn Khaldun, Muqaddimah, Ottoman Empire, Mustafa Nuri Pasha

**Öz:** Osmanlı tarihçilerinin İbn Haldun dan nasıl etkilendiklerini, karşılaştırmalı olarak incelemek gerekir. Bu çalışmada, İbn Haldun'dan etkilenen, Osmanlı devlet adamlarından ve tarihçilerinden Mansurizade Mustafa Nuri Paşa'nın tarihsel olayları nasıl analiz ettiği, İbn Haldun paralelinde, çağdaş sosyolojik ve metodolojik bakış açısıyla incelenecektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İbn Haldun, Mukaddime, Osmanlı Devleti, Mustafa Nuri Paşa

## Introduction

Within the Ottoman history tradition, a large number of historians and researchers follow Ibn Khaldun. This shows that they are influenced by the method and approach of Ibn Khaldun and that the legacy of his tradition can be seen in their works. In the same situation, this also applies to Arab historians.

Prof. Dr. Ziyaeddin F. Fındıkoğlu also mentions Mustafa Nuri Pasha in his book under the heading “our internal regulation” where he appropriates space for Ibn Khaldun's exponents, but for some reason he does not mention Mustafa Nuri Pasha.

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It is necessary to examine the Ottoman historian group in a comparative way and see how they are influenced by Ibn Khaldun on their own. In this work, we will be witness to the analysis of the events of Mansurizade Mustafa Nuri Pasha, one of the Ottoman statesmen they are influenced by Ibn Khaldun in their own. In this study, we will look at the case of Mansurizade Mustafa Nuri Pasha, one of the Ottoman statesmen and historians, in a contemporary sociological and methodical view in the line of Ibn Khaldun while examining historical events.

In his work *Natāij wuqū`āt*, Pasha deals with events with great meticulousness and with a much more modern approach to his work than other historians of his time, and evaluates the consequences of these events.

Mustafa Nuri Pasha's work handled the events of the Ottoman history from the establishment of Ottoman history up to the events of the Tanzimat in a very systematic way with a very fluent and pleasant style. In the work, firstly, the qualifications and personality structures of the political asylum and sultan of the periods are discussed, followed by extensive evaluations about the institutional structure.

## **I. Historiography of Mustafa Nuri Pasha**

The first part of the important historical work of Mustafa Nuri Pasha, *Natāij wuqū`āt*, includes events from the establishment of the Ottoman Empire to the Timur episode. The second part deals with the events from the death of Yildirim Bayazid's until Çelebi Mehmed's leaving the throne to the departure of the eleventh son of Sultan Bayazid, Selim. The third chapter recounts the period of the departure of Yavuz Sultan Selim from the throne until the death of Murad III, and the fourth chapter on Mehmed III until Suleyman's departure from the throne. The fifth chapter takes into consideration the events from Suleyman's enthronement to the Treaty of Kaynarca, and the sixth chapter contains the incidents until 1841 onwards. Each of the chapters is regarded as the era of the establishment of the state, the obligation, the invasion and the imputation, the hesitation and the devaluation, reform and innovation.

In each chapter, the events of previous periods are described, and then a general evaluation is made under the heading "report," and subsequently, the sub-headings will analyze matters dealing with the state's methods and sultanate affairs, institutions and developments, land administration, municipalities and provinces, military, naval, finance, developments in science and arts; it will also give information on the

Janissaries, armorer, cavalry, navy yard, gardener, and outer peripheries in the province and the number of the raiders, their orders and their accusations. (İnal, 108, 1982).

Mustafa Nuri Pasha gives historical events in a socio-economic sense and reflects them in a way as though the reader experiences the events firsthand. Because the work is so vibrant, so colorful and remarkable, the fifth Sultan Mehmet Reşat often read and listened to him (Sourced from Türkgeldi, Çağatay, pp. 461–462, 1992).

The core of Mustafa Nuri Pasha's work, apart from writing a general Ottoman history, investigates the causes of the changing of laws and ordinances which are modified from time to time by political administration since the beginning of the Ottoman reign, and to explore their consequences. For this reason, the structure and organization of the state is examined after the historical incidents are briefly categorized. In this respect, it is regarded as the first example of the lot.

As Mustafa Nuri Pasha does not know western languages, it is recorded as a deficiency that he cannot benefit from the works of European history. This deficiency is particularly striking since this is a period where European relations are especially increasing as is related in the sixth chapter. The author wrote this section, but it remains in draft form and could not be completed. It is also seen as a shortcoming that it does not give references to the information it provides. In his work, he aims to introduce traditional institutions alongside the Tanzimat and did not want to write anything after the Tanzimat since the institutions of the state had undergone a radical change.

Mustafa Nuri Pasha abandoned the chronological narrative of which historiographers followed and tried to explain the events by giving their causes and tried to expound more on institutions than events. However, the writer believes that the political events that uncovered them and the military and civil order cannot be understood without knowing them, and each division sees it necessary to start by describing the political events of the era, and this is one of the features that has made *Natâij wuqū`ât* one of the most scientifically valuable and most read books (Kurt, p. 3, 2008).

The writer says that he leaves his book to serve as a reminder for the coming generation. It is stated that Mustafa Nuri Pasha's righteousness, philanthropy,

kindness to the poor, and straightforwardness evinces him as a very honest person. He had a personality that allowed him not to hesitate when it came to saying what he thought. This is sometimes known to have caused problems for him. It is recorded that he had a grasp of Arabic and Hadith knowledge and read Bukhari once a week from a private teacher until his death. It is noted that he had a particular interest in history and was intensely engaged with the work of Ibn Khaldun, and adopted his method by taking him as an example in his works. His townhouse which was located in Laleli and his waterfront residence in Vaniköy which was located next to the pier was the meeting and conversation venue of important state dignitaries. Conversations which were held here included topics such as state affairs, historical events, and literature. Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, who attended this meeting with his father, notes that those left behind could not collectively meet after the death of Mustafa Nuri Pasha (Türkgeldi, p. 54, 1984).

## **II. Ibn Khaldun's Influence on Mustafa Nuri Pasha**

Hassan mentions that Ibn Khaldun's approach to history allowed him to describe history in its own right, by removing the story line from it: by removing from the accumulation of knowledge, a divisional history of classification, in an age where he saved, in a fundamental way, history, in particular, and "science" from theology, in general, Ibn Khaldun will be seen by today's historians as the true founder of the science of history. The same Ibn Khaldun, who aims to examine the events as social events in terms of the generalities and laws of movement, will now be considered as the precursor of sociology (Hassan, p. 36, 2006).

The work that preserved the renown of Mustafa Nuri Pasha, *Natāij wuqū`āt*, secured an important place among the Ottoman historians. The book, which consists of four volumes, was penned during the eight years (1873–1881) when Defter-i Hâkânî was state minister. Although his work can be thought to have been influenced by Cevdet Pasha and Ahmet Vefik Pasha, the one he was most influenced by was Ibn Khaldun. Mustafa Nuri Pasha, who embraced Ibn Khaldun's state theory, divided the history of the Ottoman Empire into six cycles; for this reason the work comes in six sections.

In this frame, Mustafa Nuri Pasha's magnificent work called *Natāij wuqū`āt* also took the opportunity to implement today's social and analytical approach to history in a systematic way, based on documentary in a way that with every incident he draws a conclusion by taking inspiration from Ibn Khaldun.

Also, Ibn Khaldun, in a way, passes the sources of history, historical data, written documents, transmissions and narrations through a critical filter; he thinks of historical events in a logical framework. Thus, in it, history turns out to be a method of determining not only the narrative of events but also the accuracy of those described at the same time, as understood in the past.

In Mustafa Nuri Pasha's method, he finds a wide range of sources, data and some state registers, and here is where traces of Ibn Khaldun's research tradition can be observed. According to Neşet Çağatay, this new understanding of history brought by him is a new initiative for our country if Fezleke-i Tarih's Ahmet Vefik Pasha's (1823-1891) book *Osmani* is not taken into consideration. In fact, this kind of understanding of history in Europe was only newly being discovered. On the other hand, he clearly states that he was influenced by the philosophy of history of Ibn Khaldun who they called the Arab Montesquieu. At the beginning of Mustafa Nuri Pasha's book, he criticizes Ibn Khaldun's views of the states' vitality, in spite of this he can be seen to have been influenced by his work in terms of his classification (Çağatay, 461, 1978).

Nuri Pasha, by stating that in every three generations, namely, every hundred years, "the modality and customs of the state will change and transform," he modified and brought much clarity to Ibn Khaldun's thesis. In his book, he assessed the Ottoman Empire for roughly one hundred years (at least 85, at most 113) in six segments, and revealed the renewal and changes in each period. Our statesman historian who has made a valuable impact on history and has put forth very detailed statements, has unfortunately not been properly examined by our intellectuals (Hepsev, p. 2).

At the beginning of the book Mustafa Nuri Pasha criticizes Ibn Khaldun's (d. 808/1405) viewpoint which in short states that "the average lifespan of states is 120 years." Although Ibn Khaldun has seen the lifespan of the Umayyad and Abbasid states, taking this to be rather odd, Mustafa Nuri Pasha's judgment in a sense can be interpreted as an effort to maintain the preservation of the idea of the "state's eternal duration" of the Ottoman state and to correct Ibn Khaldun's theory which contradicts Ottoman dominance. Considering that Mustafa Nuri who died in 1257/1841 at the beginning of the Tanzimat period died in 1307/1890, the fact that he did not take the history of his period into account is an important loss. However, it may be that Mustafa Nuri was either politically anxious, or by thinking that a new era had begun with the Tanzimat

he perhaps did not or had no desire to touch on history after 1257/1841 (Kurt, p. 2, 2008).

In his work's fourth volume, the fear of censorship, which had been published while in an uninhibited environment brought by the declaration of the second Constitution (1326/1908) after the 18th year of waiting, is also on the agenda (Kurt, p. 1, 2008).

### **III. Mustafa Nuri Pasha's Social Perspective**

#### **A. Violation of Ottoman Social Law**

Dr. Hikmet Kivılcımlı mentions Ibn Khaldun's name in his work on real dialectics, and that Ibn Khaldun is more objective than western scholars and closer to the idea of the law when it comes to social events taking place within their laws:

The causes of incidents are in their own relations. What is to be found "behind" the incidents are the "supernatural power," the power of God. Gobineau, a counterpart of Toynbee a century earlier, acknowledges in Europe that it is "a truth at first order" to refer everything to God. However, this belief says, "We must not inhibit the investigation of terrestrial truths." Ibn Khaldun, who is more faithful than the two Christians, five-hundred years before them and with a more secular understanding than Hegel, takes into account the course of history as a "manifestation of Truth," and immediately takes the path of practical science (Kivılcımlı, p. 34, 1999).

Mustafa Nuri Pasha, on the other hand, thinks that social laws are shaped in the wisdom of God's justice, and that there is no difference or contradiction between divine and social laws.

He notes that the reason for writing *Natāij wuqū`āt* is to explain the states' method of administering and the link between the system and the system in effect:

My sincere goal is to explain the Sublime State (Devlet'i Aliye) in every century and to shed light on the current regime. Since the power and the glory of the state had significantly increased, together with the rules of the law having reached a distinguished level, and this period shows, as necessitates the justice of God, signs of deterioration and looseness, it is important to elaborate this chapter in detail.

With these explanations and the view that social events are a law of God's law, Pasha brings a very important dimension to social explanations and continues the approach of Ibn Khaldun in this respect.

According to the general organization of the Sublime State, the attitude and behavior depends on the personal abilities of the sultans. While the timidity and languor of Sultan Bayezid Han Veli II plagued all the state leaders and commanders and the fatigue of the state's temper, and the stagnation of the nation's streak came, with Yavuz Sultan Selim Han's transition to the throne, the Ottoman sultanate was immediately awakened by a change of ideas and behaviors, and a god of harlot was awakened or equipped with an unmanned large vessel (Sagatay, p. 123, 1978).

These explanations point to the extent to which systems are linked to the human element and to the way in which the systems will become stronger and weaker according to the circumstances of the administrators. The quality of the manager plays an important role in the change of the structure of the Ottoman state by keeping the factor in the foreground.

At the same time he mentions that when the social and political world is strong, the troubles can easily be overcome, and when weakened, the power to endure the problems is reduced: As the Ottoman state's first foundation grew and developed, the destructive effects of the inconveniences were eliminated and the minor oversights and major devastations started to emerge when the state power became old and weak (Çağatay, p. 290, 1992).

While the violation of the concept of law brought about the deterioration of the state structure; the same situation severely worsened the ground system and the military system that formed them:

As the state law is violated, it becomes corrupt; Beylerbeyiler and Sanjak beys, deviating from various sorts of evil and accumulating many goods and the fiefs gradually joined the land tax (mukataa). This meant that they were allowed to persecute the people and allow them to hand over their rights officially (Çağatay, p. 294, 1978).

Mustafa Nuri Pasha reveals a very deep and sociologically based view of what kind of problems the managerial vacancy in state administration has led to:

The success of the Ottoman Sultanate has increased in accordance with the characters and abilities of the sultans. As an example, the time of Sultan Bayezid II is shown. Since the sultan was inveterate to ease and retirement, the government had turned its affairs over to his deputies and he himself had turned to his corner for worship. With the sultan's inability to make his authority felt and the abandoning of the state's ownership caused dire events for the future (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, C. 1, p. 51, 1294).

Pasha is also analyzing the background of some events that took place in the Ottoman history with the tone of a sociologist:

According to Mustafa Nuri Pasha, just as God causes some good to eventuate for every evil, likewise the Timur case caused the state to be develop and regenerate with regard to the experience of the Sublime State (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, C. 1, p. 55, 1294).

In Natāij wuqū`āt between the years 1098–1303 AH, the state is referred to as the standstill era. Before this period, the tension is latent; it was only in later times that they had come out in the open. Moreover, while with various problems during its embryonic and dynamic age, the state was not able to find a suitable environment for its development, it becomes evident that minor blunders become the cause of great injuries when the political authority loses its strength:

Even if the predictions of the course of outcomes which are bound by laws are clear, the events that will occur after three hundred years cannot be predicted. Many events can change because of new developments that may emerge unexpectedly. For this reason, denying them by saying that they cannot see the result of their exalted ancestors, is contrary to reason and decency (Çağatay, p. 167, 1294).

However, ninety years had passed this vizier, from the period of his office, until it went from father to son. In this respect, they had become a branch of the sultanate tree. This, in contrast to the rule of liberty, gave rise to this kind of vizier line. (Çağatay, p. 62, 1294).



## **B. Ottoman Perception of the State**

Mustafa Nuri Pasha put forward the view that the rulers adhered to these principles in great measure, stating that the structure of the Ottoman state is largely in the form of a government with an Islamic ideal and legal system:

The Ottoman rulers applied Islamic courtships and followed them stringently. They had to transfer legal affairs to all the cities and towns under their rule with the judges they had appointed, who by considering themselves as a part of the community the justice they provided through the way the Prophet, and by never interfering with the decisions they made, had brought their landed property and states, namely, its countries and governments, into a dynamic and prosperous condition (Çağatay, p. 11, 1978).

This feature, according to him, is the secret of success; as a result of divine support and as a result of the geographical sovereignty was a great state.

Likewise, on the topic of adherence to the state; it has been infringed from time to time and some of the administrators, although they have been weak in the face of self-interest, have are said not have betrayed the state to a great extent and the Fetret era is an example of this. Examples of commitment to the state and obedience to the dynasty are astonishing. It is stated that during the disorder of the Fetret era, despite the existence of various political and economic possibilities in the hands of the Ottoman beylerbeys, none of them betrayed their benefactors (Şener, p. 48, 1990).

As stated in *Natāij wuqū`āt*, while sitting with the sultans in the time of Fatih, one of them entered the divan and angered the sultan when he dared to ask such a contemptuous question: “who was the sultan?” On top of that, Ahmet Pasha, after this, listened to the calls of the sultan from behind the cage; “your time and state are needed” (NV., C. 1, p. 60,1294). This approach is pointed out in the *Natāij wuqū`āt* that the state was made with the thought of maintaining the reputation and authority of the head of the state and its representative, the Sultan, and changing some rules at the time.

Mustafa Nuri Pasha says that the sultanate of this sultan has been the beginning of the many branches of state order becoming ineffective. Various sources relate the sultan’s overly acquaintance with the courtiers, their excessive indulgence, and, when finding the appropriate time, they made themselves wealthy by obtaining various things such

as money and property, and even many friends and relatives were given many fiefdoms and vassalages (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, C. 1, p. 111, 1294).

According to figures such as Mustafa Nuri Pasha, Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, Naima and Ali, the most important causes of the state's survival are found in the nature of the statesman, and points out that troubles will occur for the state those for those who do not come from a hierarchical level in the Ottoman tradition:

One reason for the government's failure to work and the wrong attitudes that have arisen is the fact that the statesmen were not at work taking charge. Passages in important places are quite inadequate in terms of the measures they take in government affairs. Even so, there was a time that in the absence of a man, those who were rebellious towards the government were found among those who were grand viziers (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, C.2, p. 64, 1294).

Pasha, by also evaluating the internal structure of the system of the Ottoman administration tradition, he draws attention to the faulty business principle of work according to the individual instead of the individual according to the work, and the weaknesses that started in the managers also weakened the administration:

Due to an administrative mistake, the number of viziers was reduced and places of sustenance were being sought for them. For this a few districts were combined and given for their administration. This unneeded staff brought new burdens to the government. In fact, without following a hierarchy the nominations made at the state levels were weakening the system. As it was not allowed to have more viziers in Istanbul at the time of the Köprülü, the Kubbe vizier was destroyed and the order of the Defterdar vizier was abolished (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, C. 3, p. 3, 1294).

The fact that the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha killed Serasker Melek Ibrahim Pasha for defeat in the third year led the posterior to carry out their duties in fear and apprehension (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, C. 2, p. 16, 1294).

The evaluation of this phenomenon is based on human psychology; it reveals how one feels while in a state of peril in failing to fulfill their real function at the time of danger, and further reveals an advanced understanding within the conditions of that day.

In Natāij wuqū`āt there is little witness to the fact that one of the members of the ulema and dynasty were punished or justly executed, and that Yavuz Sultan Selim was to be executed by a member of the dynasty, and Zenbilli Ali Cemali who opposed Yavuz Sultan Selim's execution of one of the dynastic members said that "the universe's rectification does not depend on their death" and this was a clear hindrance (Şener, p. 47, 1990).

Such events are frequently encountered in the Ottoman state and clearly demonstrate the importance that the Ottoman state conferred to scholarly thought by clearly showing the weight of the scholar and the role of the ruler in the administration.

When asked about the circumstances of Sultan Murad's voyage, he said that his needs were severe and the possibility of being victorious was strong, and in response it was said, "it is the case, but there is one more condition, which is the investigation of the benefit of the state," the Padisah's knowledge of the matter was rectified as is mentioned in Natāij wuqū`āt (Şener, p. 47, 1990). This example is an important indicator that state benefit in the Ottoman state is seen on many areas.

The information given by Mustafa Nuri Pasha concerning the emergence of the state ideals as a result of certain sensitivities of the Ottoman state preliminarily sets the basic factors that make the system stand:

They must be dependent on ethics, education, deference towards knowledge, and devoted, giving land to the people who help and serve the state as vassalage, giving them a share of the state's interests and income, the supremacy and successes of the expansion of the country and the increase of Muslim population, spreading rights and justice everywhere, studies on the development of the country and on regulations, moisture and drought, the settlement of the institutions of the state, and the strengthening and consolidation of Ottoman reign (Çağatay, p. 12, 1978).

### **C. Weakness in Ottoman Administration**

Mustafa Nuri Pasha relates that senior executives in the Ottoman state maintained their loyalty by not seeing the opportunity to weaken the administration:

In most states, governors and commanders who are capable of such corruption are in favor of freedom and independence, but in the case of Rumeli Evrenos Bey and Muhal

Bey's descendants, such as the strong and pivotal founders, no one had ever betrayed their path and did not betray their patrons (velinimetler). Also, because almighty God has created some kind of goodness in every evil, the Timur event led to the awakening and renewal of the Ottoman state. This was because with Yıldırım Bayezid Khan being dressed ornamented and indulgent in games and entertainment, it was obvious that this fondness would only be further increased (Çağatay, p. 60, 1978).

Mustafa Nuri Pasha points to the first signs of deterioration in the Ottoman system; luxury and ostentation begins with indulgence:

In Natāij wuqū`āt, the vizier of Yıldırım Bayezid vizier, Ali Pasha was the one who led the way to the loss of seriousness by bringing the use youth attendants and eunuchs into the palace, and using gold and silver as ornaments. Since the state was in a revolutionary era, Yıldırım Bayezid was even dressed in an artistic costume adorned with gold ornaments, while the magnificence and jewelry also increased in the same way, the last days of his reign forced him to reduce expenditures of the soldiers (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, C. 1, p. 20, 1294).

Drawing attention to the high level of confidence of the Ottomans, Mustafa Nuri Pasha states that they do not need to take any collateral from states that do not want to fight against themselves:

When it comes to the weariness and laxity of Ottoman states to fight, they would send gifts to the Ottoman sultans, and leaders and commanders of the borders. As long as the Sultan forgives, the Ottomans persisted in loyalty and truthfulness, an order was issued informing them that they would not be blamed by the Ottoman sultans unless they had acted in contradiction. The other side would not be patronized to get the memorandum (Çağatay, p. 75, 1978).

Pasha during the later periods of the state; the old excitement and love had diminished and the desire to enlarge the state and to dominate the countries also began to diminish and the emphasis on the issues such as clothing and eating and drinking was being emphasized. During the reigns of Sultan Selim II and Sultan Murad III, the adornment, majesty and splendor in the appearance of the state as a whole increased day by day, and the old trait of mobilization and long-suffering were abandoned. The straw was being inherited. A method of obtaining permission was established for those put in high level positions and in matters of great import. On the other hand, the old

mobilization and long-suffering were lost, and a lot of impediments appeared when it came to sitting, dressing and eating. Not only did the Sultan go to war, but also even if the Divan came to Humayun, acceptance of the ambassador remained exclusively for the days of giving troops service pay (Çağatay, p. 124, 1992).

However, in reference to the high level of sensitivity of the Sultans of previous periods, Yavuz Sultan tried to explain to his son such matters with a word of assurance:

Once, when wearing a very ornate dress with pearls, Yavuz Sultan said to his prince Sultan Suleyman, "My son Suleyman, what should your mother wear?" (Çağatay, p. 125, 1992).

One of the weaknesses in the administration, according to Pasha; the involvement of women in government affairs and the appointment of non-competent persons:

Sultan Mehmet's mother Safiye, who had a great deal of respect for the Sultan, and his appointment of her, viziers, grand viziers and state leaders, as well as insufficient and incompetent intervention of the important affairs of the state, resulted in the bribery and extortion in the state which became extremely widespread (Çağatay, p. 191, 1992).

Mustafa Nuri Pasha maintains that this bad habit of the state system's gnawing bribery can be abruptly put to an end during periods when the state evokes its authority; and that it is important to note that the right and rule of law must prevail, which he explains with the following propositions:

Since the mir-i miran and mir-i livalar had been in place for twenty-one years, and perhaps even more for a while, when the Ottoman State was founded, there were many charitable works done there and they succeeded in putting the administration in order, while the rapid changes in the rikab-ı hümanyun, and with involvement in them, and being in office for three to five years without changing became an exception. That is why the administrators are lacking in power and the country's lack of tolerance slowly began to appear. Many civil servants even became daringly corrupt. The point is that the enterprise of bribery and corruption is an issue of punishment, because it is something that exists in nature, and the world has never been purified from them, and

the attention of the minor and major, and the punishment of those who dare to carry it out (Çağatay, p. 129, 1992).

According to him, increasingly, for the ilmiye class and the senior officers of the palace having become ineffective, and even though the Sultan was incompetent, they were given the opportunity to accede:

Sultan Mustafa's incompetence in state administration and reigns had been tried before in his first reign. Due to his incompetence and inability to do so, the military apparatus, spoiled by all their work, had taken to their own hands all the way from the grand vizier to the most insignificant position in the state (Çağatay, p. 222).

#### **D. Abuses in the Ottoman Administration System**

Mustafa Nuri Pasha, with the diminution of the Sultan's authority, gave way to the path for the intervention of various palace officials in state affairs and weakened the management system. Those in positions of authority who lay hold of various offices and capabilities now were able to direct the order of operations. The Sultan and the Grand Viziers who attempted the reform movements from time to time succeeded to the extent that they were strong and sustained their forces, and when they lost their influence, the mechanism shifted in a negative direction (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, C.165, 1294).

Particularly when they took hold of the distribution of the dirlikler and tried to give it to their own acquaintances, this gave cause for the issuance of these authorities as soon as possible:

The courtier and relatives of the sultan who occasionally in taking and not being satisfied with the dirlikler of the Ahl al-Nafs legitimized bribery; many unqualified peoples were appointed to the state, province and other positions, while those qualified were being disdained.

Pasha clearly demonstrates with the following historical event that bribery is a social catastrophe and that it has the ability to spread:

While the exchange of bribes during Sokullu Mehmet Pasha's grand viziership was totally stagnant, after his death, it was so rampant that it was impossible to count its

fragments and varieties. Even the famous Şemsi Pasha, who was a descendant of the sons of Isfendiyyar who was the ruler of the Kastamonu and who had made friendship with the Sultan, came rather cheerfully one day and was asked for the reason, "Today I made Sultan Murad accept a bribe. From now on, this taste will remain in the hands of the Ottoman Sultans, and will lead to the deterioration of the state order. Thus, his statement that, "I have also taken the revenge of my sons," was written by Gelibolulu Ali Efendi on a date named "Kühül Ahbar" (Çağatay, p. 130, 1992).

Bribery, according to Pasha; led to the fact that a plural of problems had come to the fore in the state, and this allowed the state institutions to be in the hands of those who were inapt: In the time of Sultan Ibrahim, some contemptible, opportunistic and vile people concerned with the benefit of arbitrary administration and paid a lot of money to the deceivers who entertained the Sultan by telling stories, such as Şekerpere and Voyvoda Kızı of the Sultan's harem, at night and they took to their control positions in scholarship and (military) authority with no ability or right to do so. In these ways, there was a degree of bribery market to a level unprecedented and previously unheard (Çağatay, p. 247, 1294).

### **E. Breakdown of the Ottoman Land System**

Given the Timar system's strong structure and multitude of services during the period of the Ottoman state, it is described by Mustafa Nuri Pasha in great detail:

This law in question which requires many rules and profundity can be understood with an inappreciable amount of reasoning. The first of these, the longer the expeditions and the more the casualties, the less it will be possible to lose even one of these soldiers. Because if one timar becomes vacant, there are ten contenders. Secondly, most of the Timar owners possess certain sentiments and the ability to immediately put together the service of the people and corrupt the enemy, in the case of the guardians of the villages and towns, and in the case of the bandits and foreigners, because they are the guardians of the fatherland and the guardians of their homeland and their home as they themselves are proud people who boast of the dynasty. (Çağatay, 135, 1294).

This structure is an important feature that will keep the Ottoman state system strong for a long time and will allow the society to fulfill its state functions in a natural way. (Eroğlu, 15, 2003).

As noted by Mustafa Nuri Pasha, the *dirlikleri*; accepting a certain dispensation and taking it from the hands of the landowners and giving the majority of it to the tax-farmer (*mültezim*) has caused problems in both the economic and the political field by exposing the land tax on the people above the standard level. In addition, Mustafa Nuri Pasha also states that some wrong jobs and actions have been made due to the appointment of persons who were not of the hierarchical structure to some senior authorities during the period of Kanuni Süleyman in direct contrast to state tradition.

Giving gifts and bribery from top to bottom was very common, but since the burden of seeking income to compensate for the increase in treasury expenditures arose, the grandeur and grooming were not given to the beneficiaries as they were vacated, instead they were paid to the tax-farmer every year on behalf of the treasury which then began to be written as income (Çağatay, p. 162, 1992).

Mustafa Nuri Pasha, as some historians point out, suggests that institutional traditions were abandoned during the reign of Sultan Suleyman and that violations of this tradition led to serious difficulties:

While the vacated *dirlikler* who could have been given to those who had enough strength for war and fighting, had honor and dignity, and serviced the tax-farmers, Hüsrev Pasha came to Beylerbey from Çeşnigirbaşılık in the time of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent and led pernicious business affairs by giving bribes.

Pasha points out that, as in the place of Kocasekbanbaşı, the disruption of the order of the Ottoman land system leads to a disturbance which will affect the entire system:

Osman Pasha, commander in chief of the Turkish army sent to Iran during the reign of Sultan Murad III, began to give away the *timar* and vassalages (*zeamet*) to his own men and he replied that the people of the province were at the disposal of the province and said, "My men have been in so many expeditions with me and have been entrusted to the sultan. Three of them were decided to be given to Osman Pasha's men and two thirds to be given to the provincial parliamentarians (Çağatay, p. 135, 1992).

Mustafa Nuri Pasha on the *timar*; with the abuses of the viziers and emirs, military vassalages were given to those who were not competent, and instead of completely eradicating the system he argued that it needed to be rectified and put in order (Şener, p. 129, 1990; Eroğlu, p. 15, 2003).



## **F. Breakdown of the Ottoman Military System**

According to Mustafa Nuri Pasha, the most basic element of the Ottoman military system is the system of Janissary conscription and this standing had a profound appeal among the Christians:

It is worth noting that it was the Janissary conscription and captives who under their management were conquering Africa, Arabia and Kurdistan, and were the wellspring of the Turkish Nation and Ottoman army. Because, when the Sublime State obtains a large number of prisoners in the European wars and adds to the nation and that if the prisoners who have been taken since the establishment of the state are counted, it would reveal millions who served in increasing the Ottoman population (Çağatay, p. 124, 1992).

He points out that Mustafa Nuri Pasha had begun to give the children of Christians their own consent, and even their own society, attracting the appeal of the Janissary conscription procedure among the people (Şener, p. 18, 1990).

According to Pasha, senior statesmen were brought up from the conscription system:

It was seen that the cultural level of those who came from the conscription system was not only adequate but also very successful in government service. According to Mustafa Nuri Pasha, Mahmud Pasha, Rustem Pasha and Sokullu Mehmed Pasha are the greatest of them. (Şener, p. 96, 1990)

Mustafa Nuri Pasha tells us that the Janissary society lost its old formidable structure in time, structure and that those who entered the society were either lazily sitting around or were busy with trade:

In the early days, all of the soldiers were single and in the winter were just sitting around. But after the order of the house changed, the new entrants became undisciplined because of side activities such as sitting beside their masters and engaging in trade (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, C. 4, p. 107, 1294).

The loss of internal discipline and order, according to Pasha, led to the corruption of this system: In *Nataij wuqu'at* it mentions that when a period of more than a hundred years passed from the formation of the Janissary society, with the soldiers' vestiges of

the great conquests, their wayward and irritable behavior came to the fore and with enough audacity to interfere with government affairs (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, C. 4, p. 107, 1294).

With regards to the breakdown, Pasha suggests the role of the depreciation of ideal concepts in the military system. Mustafa Nuri Pasha says that on eighty-two occasions, by not showing care and attention to the principle, "be ready for war if you want peace," the vast military ordinances of the Sublime State became abject and the war experienced viziers and emirs were dispersed (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, C. 3, p. 71, 1294).

Mustafa Nuri Pasha says that the demeanor of Ahmad III to disregard orderliness is the reason for the degeneracy of the most powerful and disciplined army of the Ottoman Empire. When Sultan Murad III asked them how they wanted to be rewarded, such as the acrobats and jugglers, gathered in the circumcision ceremonies for two months, for the prince Sultan Mehmet, they pleaded to be rewarded by being inducted into the Janissary society, and their plea was granted. Although Ferhat agha the Janissary opposed this, the Janissary Yusuf agha, who came after him, wrote the janissaries of the aspiring enthusiasts whose "master apprentice" name poured the source of the mischief into the janissary of the Ottoman army (Çağatay, p. 154, 1992).

Pasha speaks broadly of the fact that, just before the newcomers, the Timar cavalymen had entered with a disorderly and wayward demeanor and inconvenienced the State:

Because of the degeneracy of the laws and regulations of the Timar cavalymen and the languor in their functioning and absence in their numbers, governors (beylerbeyi) and district governors (sancakbeyi) used a number of haşerat in their territories under the name levent and sekban. These were also a kind of "Celaliler" and perhaps their main source. Because when the "sekban divisions" led by one or two horses were not able to find a district governor or governor to work with, they would become celali or they would join already existing celali communities and would pass time with wrongdoing such as ruining of the country and plundering of the goods of the people (Çağatay, p. 197, 1002).

Pasha points out that the decrease in discipline on the soldier and of the management's authority caused waywardness and encroachment:

It is clear that once the military organization became insolent, as it was also said in the tragic events that took place after 1592, that their indecency, their waywardness, and their tenaciousness cannot be expunged unless they are severely punished and informed of their limitations (Çağatay, 157, 1992).

The inability to see the decisive attitude of the state administration against the soldier brings them to the point of claiming even in state administration is described in Nataij wuqu'at: Whether or not there is war; every year many of the powerful people of this class who are written down as lieutenants in the name of "service" that to request civil and council services (divan) say that their position at the kubbe altı and viziership (sadaret) is their right, and that there was no hardship and suffering they did not cause to the state elders (Çağatay, p. 15, 1992).

The violation of the laws of the military society led to eradication of the conscription system. In the way we have explained, after the society had become a disorganized and undisciplined group, and not known through whom the society was taken from, one would be sitting with his masters and would be busy in one branch dealing with trade. The most effective damage caused by these conditions, although there were many, came from the fact that the regular Ottoman army was going to go down and become a flimsy army, and the necessity of coping with various corruptions since the state treasury did not have enough power, and even worse, it had resulted in leaving the procedure of conscription (Çağatay, p. 155, 1992).

The Timar system, according to Pasha, lost its former role; through their unsystematic efforts, it came to the point that they could not even provide recruitment troops in campaigns. When they needed to go on a campaign, they took bribes from those who had power and thus bestowals were made to be customary. Thus, in the past, the Sublime State with their organized and distinguished armorers, i.e. mesne lords (tımar sahibi), and the collective soldiers alongside more than one hundred thousand people they brought with them, drawbacks and lack of power came along (Çağatay, p. 300, 1992).

### **G. Disturbances in the Ottoman Financial System**

Mustafa Nuri Pasha, the landed proprietors (ayanlar); they are described as managerial groups which have important roles in the planning of financial affairs. The holdings of

the country's administrations and their affiliation, the starboard manager, the municipality and the voivodes; legal affairs, and matters dealing with price fixing and victuals belonged to the venerable canonical (Shari'ah) judges. These are the laws that deal with the judges responsible for the distribution and collection of the expenditures of the country and the keeping of their records. They would come together with country notables and be a surrogate for the people as amenders, and intermediaries between the judges and the people (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, C. 4, p. 98, 1294).

In his work, Nuri Pasha discusses the existence of the landed proprietors chosen by each city, in addition to the governors and tenants (mutasarrıf) who were designated as voivode for management of the districts (kaza) and tax collector (mütesellim) for the management of provinces (eyalet) (Özdeğer, p. 2, 2003). When Istanbul was seized, the statesmen's ornaments, attire, rituals and ceremonies increased. Plumed ornaments (sorguçlar), lefties (solaklar), pageboys (peykler), regiments of various kinds of clothes and even the term for master which was taken from the Byzantines (Karatepe, p. 73, 1999).

According to Mustafa Nuri Pasha, the increase in military spending and military wages explains the fact that the economy was troubled and this had also led to military uprisings. Due to the expense of Iranian expeditions and the proliferation of active troops, the Ottoman state was unable to meet income expenses, and thus the standard and weights of the coins were reduced. Mehmet Pasha, who was close to the Rumeli beylerbeyi and the Sultan, and in spite of being envied by the viziers, he took responsibility to regulate the coins and while he was exerting great efforts in this matter, the soldiers rebelled on the pretext of deterioration of the standard and weight of the currency. When the Grand Vizier Siyavus Pasha stated that "the currency commission has been transferred to the governor (beylerbeyi)," and with the indecency of the military forces at the council of Humayun ensued the murder of Mehmet Pasha and the head of provincial treasury Mahmut Efendi (Çağatay, p. 118, 1992).

With the weakening of the state due to its unplanned and arbitrary expenditure budget, the state reached a point where they had to take on debt from tradespeople. As savings were completely dissolved and perished due to squandering and careless expenditures, Sultan Murad IV's honorary throne was borrowed from some merchants and the wealthy, and gold and silver tools and utensils of past sultan's were sent to the royal mint for coins (Çağatay, p. 302, 1992).

Unlike many historians, Pasha explains the inapt attitudes on money due to his expertise in financial affairs with highly accurate evaluations and analyzes the erroneous actions that have taken place in the Ottoman Empire. Some officials of the provincial treasury who were indiscreet and corrupt in nature were giving money that came to the treasury to moneylenders (sarraf) in exchange for "low-grade (züyuf) akçe" believing that the surplus was profit. Because of such increases, much unrest emerged and they were liable to various abandonment and descent. The day to day aggravation of adverse policies, trivial and ineffective ideas, and financial affairs had reached the time of Köprülü Mehmet Pasha's grand viziership (Çağtay, 303, 1992).

Pasha, meanwhile, mentions that the confiscation of the state, which is a kind of balancing intervention, has been diluted and turned into a source of earnings:

While these confiscations were applied to those who used the state treasury for their own benefit in unlawful ways and to those normally accumulating lots of money, these activities eventually transformed into abuse, where they began to confiscate capital and assets of government officials, even land taxers (mukataalar) and tax-farmers (mültezimler), and from the wealthy who were not involved in government positions and were preoccupied with their own trade, plantations and buildings (Çağatay, p. 309, 1992).

## Conclusion

Nataij wuqu'at uses the methodology of today's social sciences by conveying to us the evaluations about the Ottoman state structure and political incidents, and has succeeded in attracting attention to the different function and method of the science of history in Islamic societies.

Nevertheless, the fact that the work entitled Nataij wuqu'at has escaped people's attention, can be attributed to the fact, I believe, that Mustafa Nuri Pasha did not produce many works. Also, his desire not to become a prominent statesman may have influenced the recognition of such a work.

It is important to evince the fact that Ibn Khaldun, the great mastermind who is accepted as the founder of social sciences and in particular sociology, had also impacted Ottoman society. Another point that needs attention is the original

contribution presented by Ibn Khaldun's sociological point of view to the science of history and accordingly to the world of Turkish Ottoman science. Being the bearers of a civilization that realized in earlier periods of history today's objectivity, data-based and scientific social studies, is an extraordinary richness.

Another aspect that is of interest to us is the misrepresentation of our social dynamics through the thought systems and cultural values outside of our civilization basin as a result of having neglected the reference sources of the Ottoman period in sociology studies in Turkey I believe that by turning to our own historical and literary sources, we can have a more rooted and intelligible way of determining our social existence. It may also be the case that social scientists will conduct more passionate and efficient studies in developments linked to its value system.

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